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And yet Mr. Edmund Randolph, who died in 1813, left a manuscript, still unpublished, entitled a "History of Virginia," in which Henry is credited with an utterance somewhat less inflammatory than that long accepted. We seem, therefore, to be confronted with the fact that our familiar picture of that memorable Virginia session has never been wholly authoritative.

The author of this newly discovered manuscript, himself a Catholic, perhaps an Irishman, was, it would appear, an agent of the French Government. It would seem, therefore, that he must have been friendly to the Colonies. His whole manuscript shows that he was a careful observer. His notes, under date of May 30 and May 31, follow: (The foot-notes are from those of the editor of the *Review*.)

*"May the 30th.—Set out Early from halfway house in the Chair and broke fast at York, arrived at williamsburg at 12, where I saw three Negroes hanging at the galous for haveing robed Mr. Walthoe<sup>82</sup> of 300 ps. I went imediately to the assembly which was seting, where I was entertained with very strong Debates Concerning Dutys that the parlement wants to lay on the american Colonys, which they Call or Stile stamp Dutys. Shortly after I Came in one of the members stood up and said he had read that in former times tarquin and Julus had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and he Did not Doubt but some good american would stand up, in favour of his Country, but (says he) in a more moderate manner, and was going to Continue, when the speaker of the house rose and Said, he, the last that stood up had spoke treason, and was sorey to see that not one of the members of the house was loyal Enough to stop him, before he had gone so far. upon which the Same member stood up again (his name is henery) and said that if he had afronted the speaker, or the house, he was ready to ask pardon, and he would shew his loyalty to his majesty King G. the third, at the Expence of the last Drop of his blood, but what he had said must be atributed to the Interest of his Countrys Dying liberty which he had at heart, and the heat of passion might have lead him to have said something more than he intended, but, again, if he said any thing wrong, he beged the speaker and the houses pardon. some other Members stood up and backed him, on which that afaire was droped."*

*"May the 31th.—I returned to the assembly today, and heard very hot Debates stil about the Stamp Dutys. the whole house was for Entering resolvs on the records but they Differed much with regard the Contents or purport thereof. some were for shewing their resentment to the highest. one of the resolvs that these proposed, was that any person that would offer to sustain that the parlement of Engl'd had a right to impose or lay any tax or Dutys what's'r on the american Colonys, without the Consent of the inhabitants therof, Should be looked upon as a traitor, and Deemed an Enemy to his Country.<sup>84</sup>*

<sup>82</sup> Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council.

<sup>83</sup> This was the resolve which we may call no. 7, reckoning all that are quoted in any of the authorities. . . . Our traveller, however, appears to have seen no. 7 under debate on the 31st. The dissolution occurred the next day, June 1.

there were some others to the same purpose, and the majority was for Entring these resolvs, upon which the Governor Disolved the assembly, which hinderd their proceeding.

"The Kings Berth Night<sup>85</sup> which was on the tuesday follow'g, was given by the lieutenant govenor mr. faquier.<sup>86</sup> I went there in Expectation of seeing a great Deal of Company, but was Disappointed for there was not above a Dozen of people. I came away before super."

### THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

THE Nobel Peace Prize for the current year, according to the announcement from Christiania, Norway, December 10, has been divided equally between Christian L. Langé, of Norway, Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, and Hjalmer Branting, Prime Minister of Sweden. The prize amounts to approximately \$30,000.

Dr. Langé was born in Norway in 1869. He has been Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union since 1909. He has been Secretary of the Nobel Committee in the Storthing, and for some years he has been professor of history in the Norwegian Nobel Institute at Christiania. He represented Norway at the second Peace Congress at The Hague in 1907. He is the author of a number of volumes and many articles relating to international matters. His friends among the American group of the Interparliamentary Union are pleased to hear of the award even of a half of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Langé.

### WHAT IS IT?

WHAT IS IT that led President Harding to say in his speech on Armistice Day that he is "not as a pacifist fearing war"? What is it that led President John Sullivan, of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, in his appeal to civic, school, church, veteran, and business organizations to aid in impressing upon the International Conference for the Limitation of Armament the demand for the cessation of the competitive building of great armaments, to say, "We have put the bars up against all pacifist organizations and will not take counsel with any such or similar organizations"? These gentlemen and public men generally are doing everything in their power just now to avoid the calamity of war. As such, they are working for the establishment of peace between nations. The statesmanship of the world, without any appreciable exception, is bent as never before upon the same high purpose.

The psychology of nations everywhere is, therefore, the psychology of pacifism. No one today, outside a few

<sup>85</sup> George III. was born June 4 (N. S.), 1738.

<sup>86</sup> Francis Fauquier.

hang-overs from the school of Bernhardi, is rash enough to defend war as a rational system of settling international disputes. "I pledge with all my heart and soul that so long as I live I will never raise my hand again to assist any armed conflict between nations!" This is the pledge made by Mrs. Emelia E. McCudden, the British war mother chosen by the British Government to represent that nation at the memorial services in Washington to the Unknown Soldier on Armistice Day. A lieutenant of the British army, one of the aides to Mrs. McCudden during her visit here, has made an appeal to the mothers of the world to do away with warfare. At the same meeting where these things took place many of our most distinguished Americans, coming from all walks of life, expressed the same sentiments, all of which took place at a luncheon given by the New York State war mothers.

As a matter of fact, pledge or no pledge, these same mothers *would* raise their hands, would be among the *first* to raise their hands, to assist their respective nations were they threatened again as in 1914. What these persons have in mind is the necessity of making such a diabolical menace forever improbable, if not impossible, to the end that the cruel sacrifices having all but ruined civilization may never be necessary again. That is the ambition of the workers for peace—of the pacifists, if you please, and of the pacifist organizations. That is the purpose of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament. That is the purpose of President John Sullivan, of the Central Trades and Labor Council. That is the purpose of President Harding.

What is it that leads intelligent, well-meaning men to go out of their way to insult their co-pacifists? The American Peace Society, for example, has stood by the United States Government in all its wars of over a century. Should a situation like unto that of 1917 once more arise, this Society would undoubtedly stand by its government again. We do not present an argument; we state a fact. But the American Peace Society, concerned in the establishment of a world order where such a crisis shall not arise again, is a pacifist organization, quite as the Conference on the Limitation of Armament. Would that some thoughtful person might arise to explain what it is in these days of heroic effort for the establishment of international peace that leads men to "see red" when they hear the word "pacifist."

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**O**PTIMISM is beginning to breathe again upon the earth. It is touching hearthstone and forum. It has reached unto the market-place. Within the last nine months United States Government war bonds have increased approximately two billion dollars in value. The lowest of these bonds, namely, Liberty  $3\frac{1}{2}$ 's, are selling

around 96; Victory  $4\frac{3}{4}$ 's recently went to par. It is believed that the Liberty issues will all touch par and higher within a short time. In early December there has been a spectacular rise in value of the British pound sterling. Gilt-edged securities are buoyant in the London market. Production in the American steel industry is now about 45 per cent of capacity, as against 44 per cent in October, 32 per cent in September, 30 per cent in August, and 21 per cent in July.

Mr. Hoover is authority for the statement that "year by year since the armistice, the combatants, except Russia, show steady gains in social and political stability; they show great progress in recovery of agriculture, industry, foreign trade, and communications." True, the unbalanced budgets remain in certain countries. All is not well in the social, political, industrial, agricultural, or commercial life of the nations. Unbalanced inflation in Germany remains a danger signal. But, continues Mr. Hoover, "Outside of the government finances of a limited number of States, the outlook is very encouraging."

Bolshevism seems to have received its death thrust in the home of its birth. Democracy is winning its way over autocracy. Outside of Turkey, the wars have largely ceased. There is a widespread satisfaction over the prospects of a limitation in naval armament, while the number of men under arms has decreased during the last year by a million. Agricultural and industrial production is improving. There is no famine in Europe except in Russia. The banking institutions are proving their ability to cope with the problems of international trade and credits, at least in most of the nations. The instruments of transportation and communication have for the most part been reconstructed. Men are at work everywhere. We seem to feel the spirit everywhere of no steps backward.

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**W**HEN the battleships are scrapped it ought not to be difficult to find a paltry few million dollars with which to lay two or three cables between San Francisco and Yokohama. While there are some fifteen cable lines connecting the old and new continents across the Atlantic, there is but one across the Pacific connecting the United States with Japan. It takes only from four to five hours to get a message by ordinary service across the Atlantic, and such a message costs but 28 cents a word; but it takes over twenty-four hours by urgent service for a dispatch to cross the Pacific, and the expense is \$3.25 a word. All will agree that the future of any agreements arrived at just now in Washington will depend in no insignificant sense upon a mutual understanding between the United States and Japan. There

are no more effective means to obtain such an understanding than by multiplying the means of communication between the two powers. Increasingly from now on it will be necessary that each of these peoples shall know the current views, ideas, news, in all the varying aspects

of their common life. We are told that five million dollars will build three cables. At this rate the price of one battleship will build twenty-four such cables. In any event, additional cables are needed imperatively. Business, politics, peace, depend upon it.

## THE CONFERENCE MOVES FORWARD

At this writing, a month after the Conference on the Limitation of Armament convened, one action of far-reaching importance to the future order of the world has been taken, and others of vast importance impend and are expected momentarily to be consummated.

That which is done is the writing and signing of a treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, under which the possessions and dominions of each in the Pacific are to be respected, and in case of dispute conference is to be held; also, in case of danger from an outside source, the parties to the treaty are to confer as to what action shall be taken. This treaty not only creates an agency for peace in the Pacific, but under its terms the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is to be dissolved—an end earnestly sought by the American Government and apparently favored by the American people.

Of the matters impending, the naval ratio feature of the Hughes plan, linked with the basic question of tonnage of capital ships, overshadows. Every indication from official circles seems to assure the adoption of the ratio of 5-5-3 for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, proposed by Secretary Hughes. The capital ship tonnage allowed each nation may be increased slightly, in order to meet a plea from the Japanese that they be allowed to keep their great new ship, the *Mutsu*, and in order to adjust the American and British tonnage proportionately.

When the agreement is formally reached on the 5-5-3 ratio for capital ship tonnage, the Conference will pass to consideration of submarines, which the British want abolished, to decision as to details respecting auxiliary ships, and to settlement of the size and character of the French and Italian navies. The submarine question and the question as to French and Italian navies may develop perplexities, but there is no thought among the delegates to the Conference that they will endanger in the least the success of the gathering.

Another matter upon which agreement seems impending is Shantung. The indications are strong that Japan will agree to recede from her demand for half ownership in the railroad that crosses Shantung, upon payment from China for the interest. It is possible that an international com-

mission will be named to go to Shantung and study the books of the railroad and to examine other economic interests to determine what will be a fair valuation.

In the broad Chinese situation, the Conference has adopted for its guidance and as a policy of the powers in the future four rules formulated by Elihu Root. First adopted in committee and later by the Conference in open session on December 10, they pledge the powers in the Conference to respect Chinese national integrity, to help China to a stable government, to maintain the open door, and not to take advantage of existing conditions to seek special privileges. To them has been added a resolution, formulated by Sir Auckland Geddes, pledging the powers to make no treaty that would impair the force of the Root rules.

Proceeding under the Root rules and in accordance with the agenda, and taking into consideration ten points offered by the Chinese delegation as a chart for treatment of the situation in China, the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs has adopted resolutions recognizing the neutrality of China in any future wars, has agreed to end foreign-controlled post-offices in China, and has provided for an international commission to study the extraterritoriality question. It is now dealing with Chinese customs rates, military and other establishments maintained without treaty sanction, and leases. It is probable that before the Conference concludes a treaty of the powers will be framed for the government of the powers in their relations to China.

Technically outside the Conference, but actually a part of its work, the issue over the island of Yap has been settled during the sessions of the Conference, the announcement having been made on December 12. American claims as to cable rights are guaranteed. The convention will go to the Senate. The Conference is scheduled to deal shortly with the matter of Pacific fortifications, and, without great hope of success, to act respecting land armament.

Following, under separate heads, will be found detailed information regarding debates and action of the committees and the Conference on the naval question, the land armament, the Far East issues and the Four Power Treaty. Similar information as to subsequent debates and action will be given in the next number.

## THE NAVAL QUESTION

For virtually one month the Hughes plan has been before the Committee on Limitation of Armaments, which really has been the entire membership of the Conference, as far as armament is concerned. The committee of technical naval advisers soon finished examination of the facts as to the existing navies, and found that those facts show the exist-

ing ratio between the American, British, and Japanese navies to be 5-5-3, unless ships under construction be eliminated. The Japanese argued for 10-10-7.

Inasmuch as ships under construction admittedly are part of any naval strength, the report of the technical men substantiates Mr. Hughes' use of 5-5-3 as the ratio to obtain.